



"Man is the measurement of everything."

If There Is Anything That Cannot Bear Free Thought—Let It Crack—WENDELL PHILLIPS

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ANARCHY ON TRIAL IN UNITED STATES COURT

(Speech of Marcus Graham Before Being Sentenced by Judge Leon R. Yankwich to Six Months Imprisonment on January 14th, 1938)

The court has declared from the bench that it will not lend its support to the execution of a warrant of deportation dated November, 18, 1919, but at the same time declared me in criminal contempt of court for refusing to answer questions at hearings re-opened by the Labor Department and based solely on a warrant of arrest in 1919.

Now, if the warrant of Deportation dated Nov. 18, 1919 is void, one must conclude beyond any shadow of a doubt that the warrant of arrest dated April, 1919 is void as well.

I was arrested and lodged in jail on October 6, 1937 in this very city, held in jail for eight days and am now out on a thousand dollar bond.

An examination of the transcripts of every hearing held by the immigration inspectors will reveal that there was no new warrant of arrest issued; that the only existent warrant of arrest in my case is the one dated April, 1919!

I will read as proof Page 1, transcript of the hearing dated October 11, 1937. The very opening statement of Inspector Henderson to me:

"I refer to a hearing granted you by this Department at Ellis Island, New York, April 25, 1919, in which you were given an opportunity to show cause why you should not be deported under charges read to you. At that time you stated you were born in Montreal, Canada; subsequently on November 18, 1919, Departmental Warant 54616/163 directing your deportation to Canada was issued and is still in effect."

Then one must conclude that every hearing held by the local immigration department since my arrest of October 6th must and can only be considered illegal, and that, therefore, their coming into this court to obtain its order to force me to be a participant in hearings resulting from an illegal arrest is a thing which this court, in all fairness to its own name should not permit. The court should reconsider its own decision of yesterday in declaring me in contempt of court.

Furthermore, an examination of the dismissal of the Labor Department's order of deportation to Mexico against me dated November 15, 1930 gives its main reason—that I was still subject to the deportation warrant of 1919—eleven years after its issuance!

The reopening of the case in 1936, as well as the transcript of every hearing held here since my arrest of October, 1937, will show the court that the Labor Department still considers the warrant of deportation dated Nov. 18, 1919 valid. The district attorney's readiness to admit its being invalid comes only after this court intimated that it considered said order invalid.

There are, it seems to me, additional reasons why this court ought to reconsider its decision of yesterday holding me for contempt of court. In doing so it would only disprove the argument of the anarchists that the very institution of government has never functioned, nor does it now, nor can it ever, as a dispenser of justice or an enforcer, in the true sense of the word, of its own laws.

By letting its order of yesterday stand and sentencing me today it will substantiate as correct the position of the anarchists towards the government as an administrative organ not serving the interests of, but against the people, not of truth but against truth, not of justice but of rank injustice.

The district attorney has had the temerity to accuse me of flouting the law of this land for eighteen years. Let me examine the truthfulness of this statement.

As an Anarchist I do not believe humanity has any need for any form of government or laws in order to maintain its well-being, peace and happiness. The fact is that the very existence of government, its courts, its jails, its armies, the multitude's poverty and deprivation bespeaks its uselessness and harmfulness and furthermore condemns its moral right to exist at all. Naturally, then, as an Anarchist, I am no partner to the making of the laws of any country, and therefore can at no time be flouting laws or be asked to obey them—unless by force. And by force, not by reason, governments enforce all their laws.

The District attorney also had the temerity to intimate that I was accorded at all times fair treatment.

Let me place on record the facts that will give the lie to this assertion.

My first arrest occurred in April, 1919, in Paterson,

N. J. I was thrown in jail for two weeks, denied any non-meat food, since and because I am an Anarchist I do not believe even in the killing of animals. I was lodged there with people suffering all sorts of diseases, and had to subsist on black coffee and bread.

Subsequently, I was incarcerated for two weeks at Ellis Island, and again denied non-meat foods.

On February 21, 1921, I was arrested in the main public library of New York City and taken to the "Bomb Squad." For refusing to give my address I was given a third degree for twenty-four hours—a third degree that shocked even the doctors at Ellis Island when viewing my body.*

I suppose this too the district attorney would term "fair treatment."

For six months I was detained on Ellis Island, subsequent to this arrest. Commissioner Howe of Ellis Island granted my request for non-meat food.

In July, 1930 a zealous immigration inspector at Yuma, Arizona arrested me for having in my possession two copies of "An Anthology of Revolutionary Poetry"—a volume representing 400 renown poets of twenty countries and obtainable in the leading libraries of this country. For two weeks I was incarcerated in the jails of Yuma, Arizona; El Centro, California; San Pedro, California and Los Angeles, and was denied non-meat food.

In October of 1937 I was thrown into the county jail, forced to sleep on a bare floor for eight days and denied non-meat food, although the immigration law prescribes an alien should be detained at the nearest Island.

My home was broken into on October 6, 1937, admittedly by Mr. Henderson, an immigration inspector sitting here, without a search warrant, and property belonging to me and to the monthly magazine I am editor of—MAN!—was seized.

Handcuffed for demanding a search warrant two of the four arresting inspectors broke into my house, as I was paraded through the streets.

All these mistreatments—not to speak of the scores of forcible fingerprint-taking and photographing—all this a representative of the government—the supposed servant of the people—considers no doubt fair treatment and "due process of law" as accorded by the Constitution.

It is because the Anarchist knows that the administrators of government never do act as servants of the people that he challenges that claim. The eighteen-year-old mistreatment accorded to me by the United States Government vindicates the truthfulness of the Anarchist contention.

Why I do not answer any questions—the foremost reason: I have never been a partner to the making of any laws of any country and therefore refuse to recognize any country's right to question me on matters concerning my own personal life or political beliefs.

At my first arrest, the Immigration inspector admitted before the chief of police that unless I answered the questions asked of me he did not know whether he had any case against me at all! Ever since then the upholders of the law wish me to become an aid in getting myself deported by testifying against myself.

I have persistently refused to outrage my own self-respect by becoming a witness against myself—and no court in the land, high or low, can or will force me to do so.

If this or any other court attempts to keep me imprisoned for refusing to testify against myself, I do not believe the liberty-understanding people of America will allow me to rot away in a prison for my acting as I did, and will continue to do.

In Canada during the last world war butchery, I

*Since my incarceration for "criminal contempt of court," I learned that the present Police Commissioner of New York City, Mr. Valentine, is none other than the same Mr. Valentine who participated as a member of the infamous "bomb squad" in my arrest as well as in the beastly third degree I had undergone. This revelation can cause no surprise to the anarchist. A close scrutiny of most police heads of the land would result in the same revelation. The American Labor Party, the Socialist Party and the Communist Party—should take pride in having aided in the election of Mayor La Guardia who in turn has relegated the same vicious bomb-squad brutes upon radicals as the Police Chief of the Metropolitan City of America.—M. G.

spoke against conscription, and I am proud for having done so. I have edited there publications that upheld Freedom, social, economic and political, as the most conducive form of life for mankind.

Ever since my being in the United States—since 1919—I have continued to the best of my humble abilities to preach and write in behalf of the dawn of such a society of true freedom for mankind.

The volume of "An Anthology of Revolutionary Poetry" I labored over for ten years, and I am proud in its materialization.

To the publication MAN! which I have edited for the last five years, I devote now all my time.

If it were not for my editing of MAN! I would not be now facing imprisonment. But it is nevertheless a fact that MAN! is published legally. It is accepted as a legal paper by the post office. No collaborator, or myself, was at any time indicted upon criminal charges for anything that has appeared in its pages.

So, all my crimes summed up in one is the crime of independent thinking. The crime of the man who challenges the present form of government as a beneficiary to mankind.

This is not the first time, nor the last, as long as governments prevail, that men have gone through what I have and what I face. The struggle for the liberation of mankind from all the fetters that still keep him a slave is a long and unceasing one. And not before mankind achieves its truest and fullest emancipation will that struggle end, nor its proud upholders and defenders cease their efforts.

And I am proud in having contributed whatever little share I could in that greatest of all struggles for the happiness, true equality, true freedom—for all the children of mankind.

That is the dream of the anarchist society.

The district attorney concluded dramatically that my chief crime is in being the editor of MAN! that expounds such an anarchist society. With full pride I plead guilty to this charge. And if the court presided over by a reputed liberal judge decides now to flout his own declaration that the warrant of 1919 is void and sends me to jail for refusing to be a partner in proceedings that brought about my arrest in order to execute the very same order of deportation (since there has been no new warrant of arrest) then I stand ready to go to jail.

My going to jail by order of a liberal court will fully substantiate the anarchist contention in toto as to the basis for the founding, existence and perpetuation of government—the dispensing of injustice.

I shall close with the words of the greatest of all Americans—Henry David Thoreau—when he said:

"Rather than love, than money, than fame, give me truth!"

And I add—the word Freedom—the true essence of Anarchy.

Editor of MAN! Jailed Again

The Labor Department that has been harassing readers of this journal during 1934, instituted the deportation proceedings against Ferrero and Sallito in the same year, and last October jailed the editor of MAN!, Marcus Graham, in order to execute a deportation warrant of more than eighteen years standing, succeeded to jail him for the fifth consecutive time on January 14th, as a reputed self-styled "liberal" Judge, Leon R. Yankwich, after declaring the warrant of 1919 as void, nevertheless proceeded to sentence Graham to six months in a federal penitentiary on a charge of criminal contempt, when Graham refused to testify against himself before immigration officials or in court—in order to aid in carrying out the very 18 year-old deportation warrant! The hypocrisy of the Judge's "liberalism" revealed itself even more fully when he attempted to prevent that Graham should state his position before being sentenced. Finally, he consented to "allow" Graham to speak, and his talk appears in full on this page.

The protesting voices against the U. S. Government's attempt to destroy this journal by imprisoning its editor has so far met with considerable success. This despite the suppression of the *Freedom of the Press*, issue which is involved,

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ANARCHISM AND ORGANIZATION

A study of radical literature might evoke the thought that of all the problems perplexing the radical movement none seem so confusing or so vaguely understood and presented as the basic problem, the organization of society. And among recognized groups, none present a less specific solution than those in the anarchistic movement. The chaos of belief among the ranks is easily understood (among anarchists a characteristic expression is, "I disagree") because it is not a system ideology. A philosophy of life based upon such an ambiguously conceived idea as Liberty will necessarily be ambiguous in its specific aims. This, paradoxically tends both to weaken and to strengthen its movement as it gives great latitude for interpretation. All anarchists believe in human liberty both as a means of progress and as an aim to be achieved. But the problem of applying liberty to social organization seems to have been met with no definite solution. There are anarchists to whom even the word organization is taboo.

Organization means a collection of organs functioning as a unit. The organs of society are its sub-units distinguished by the different specific functions they perform. These may be classified in many ways, but any classification would include the groups contributing toward satisfying the following human wants: food, shelter, clothing, amusement, education, experiment, transportation, distribution, insurance, justice, defense, and others. Division of labor is caused by geographic and climatic conditions and specialization within industries by the increased productivity which judicious use of the different potentialities in men engenders.

Satisfying the various human desires may be called social functions, and the groups performing them the organs of society. To harmonize the relations between these organs—the creation of order—this is the social problem. Hence it is a problem of organization.

In his book "Social Statics," Herbert Spencer distinguishes two types of organization, which he designates as Military and Industrial. The first is compulsory organized, the latter is noted for its recourse to free contracts. He concluded from a study of history that there are manifold indications that society is evolving out of the military into the industrial type of organization. Other writers use the word Society to apply only to voluntary associations. With this usage it is necessary to say we are evolving out of barbarism toward society, that is, we are in a process of becoming socialized.

In this article attempting to explain the anarchistic viewpoint, I find it feasible to make a distinction between the words "authority" and "government". Government will mean coercion by intimidation, force, and violence; authority as meaning having the directing voice or "say so" in any enterprise. In this instance, authority may or may not be obtained by force. This usage agrees, at least, with the general acceptance among anarchists of what the term government implies.*

Now, the effective functioning of any unit depends on its authority to act, and to assume responsibility for action. In any type of organization, and no matter for what specific purpose its aim, authority or "say so" must be centered either in an individual or collection of individuals prone to agree and act in unison. In other words, responsibility must be made specific and definite in scope, preferably individualized than left indefinite. Otherwise, in consequence of the multifarious misunderstandings and differences of opinion due to individuality in men, there would be chaos. Time is an important element in the accomplishment of any given objective; and short time agreement is necessary to expedite the effective use of given means for accomplishing a specific purpose.

So our immediate problem is the reconciliation of the opposites, authority and liberty. We need authority** in order to make our purposes effective; we need liberty in order not to coerce unwilling members. Authority is obtained by voluntarily centering specific functions or sub-functions into the hands, or rather the heads of certain individuals—this is direction; liberty by granting the right of secession to dissenters—or indirection. This is authority subjugated to liberty, not liberty imprisoned by authority. Discipline within an organization may be had through codes mutually agreed upon.

Now, because of differences of opinion and the right of secession, innumerable organizations may be expect-

*According to the law of contradiction, an idea exists only by virtue of the existence of its opposite. Thus, liberty can be known only in contradistinction to authority. But as nothing can be "abolished" in this world, the social problem becomes one of reconciliation and equilibrium—the reconciliation or synthesis of opposites. Thus, authority, in one sense, cannot be avoided. The problem becomes one of reconciling it with liberty. And this can be done only by granting the right of independence, the right of secession at all times. Combination spells authority; separation, liberty. They can both exist under a reign of free choice when and as the line of demarcation between liberty and invasion become better understood. It will be noted that the State, as an institution purporting to represent all, is inimical to independence, is thus the natural enemy of liberty, and must be eliminated before liberty can blossom in full bloom.

**Organization implies combination. And men organize for a purpose. While organized, they must subserve that purpose, if the aim of organization is to be effective. Organization necessarily implies conformity, and the greater the organization and the larger its scope of activity and purpose, the greater conformity required. The purposes of organization (or association) are usually material or social advantage; nevertheless, liberty is sacrificed in such obtainment. You cannot have organization without authority. Here we have a conflict between security and liberty; and, so as to sacrifice neither, each individual himself should be the sole arbiter to determine how much of either he wishes to cede for the other. And he must be able to evaluate and adjust his circumstances, on the basis of self benefit, at all times.

ed, of various forms, and for many purposes, all competing with one another in trying to serve society, or any portion thereof, by offering more satisfactory services and products. Thus we have arrived at a grouping of society, divided as to immediate and specific aims and means, but united on general aim, social service, mutuality,—the satisfaction of human desires in the aggregate.

In view of one organic conception of society from which emanates the prevalent advocacy of planned economies, all of which logically pursued lead to communism or a unified social organization necessitating a State bureaucracy, and because of the almost universal superstition that society must necessarily be chaotic without some central governing force with power to force conformity to whatever it shall decree to be public policy, as an antidote to these beliefs, it may be advisable to mention an organic classification mentioned by that noble ex-anarchist, J. Wm. Lloyd, long ago in the columns of *Liberty*.

There are two types of organisms—concrete and discrete. Man, he said, is a concrete organism, no part of him can be destroyed without drastically impairing the whole. But society is a discrete organism, it can be split up, separated and combined in many different ways, even parts of it destroyed without necessarily impairing the whole.

Anarchism repudiates the organic conception of society which conceives society as an entity to serve which is the duty of its component parts, individuals and groups. Anarchy admits of organization, but is not, of itself an organized conception of society. For the rights of independence and the right of secession, imply a divided and competitive society. *This is important to understand.* If it is the one reciprocal duty of society and its members to subscribe to one form of organization, then representatives are needed to maintain and manage that form. The organic conception is the essence of Stateism, and as such is inimical to the anarchistic philosophy which is fundamentally opposed to collectivism.

From the anarchistic point of view, the most important factor to be considered in relation to social organization is the nature of individuality. It is not what is common to all men that forms a hindrance toward settling social problems. It is the very fact that men differ and disagree, that they vary in their tastes, their desires, opinions, wants, needs, capabilities, etc., that forms the *raison d'être* for the anarchist philosophy. Harmony among those with different and contradictory opinions can be achieved only by *separation*, to allow activities to be *exclusive* in so far as diverse opinions prevail. Differers can be made to act in unison only by coercion, which, to be avoided, necessitates separation and independence—Liberty. As in Josiah Warren's view, harmony comes through division and disassociation, not from combination. This is an inevitable effect of the nature of individuality, a fact the understanding of which makes apparent the utopianism of Kropotkin's vagaries in respect to social organization, (1) as well as the fatal linking-up of the anarchistic philosophy with communism.***

Carrying out our principle to its logical conclusion, it becomes readily obvious that when we come to the individual, his right to an equitable part of nature's goods (not his neighbors products as communists propose) to be used by himself as he wishes, exclusive of interference of any individual or collectivity, is a necessary conclusion of the libertarian doctrine. Without the right of independence, of the exclusive use of a portion of nature and nature's forces, as property, talk of individual liberty is puerile. Likewise, the right of exchanging the products of human effort on any terms agreeable to the parties concerned must be a paramount and inalienable right of anarchistic society. And as in the final analysis the exchange of products is equivalent to the exchange of human services, the right to work under the jurisdiction of another, for any wage agreed upon through voluntary contract, is vital. Also the right of individuals, in any number, to pool whatever portions of their wealth in productive enterprises, as in stock companies, logically follows. Thus, in the light of these libertarian essentials, do the proposals of so-called communist-anarchists become absurd and their condemnation of private property, competition, and the wage system, phases of liberty directly flowing from its principles, evince reactionary and anti-libertarian tendencies. (2) For as soon as property and free exchange are admitted, communism has gone by the board. The hyphenization of anarchism with communism, merely because anarchism as such is not a denial of communistic enterprises for those who willingly acquiesce in them, is just as sensible to hyphenate vegetarianism with anarchism, or nudism, or christianity, music-loving, athletic, the simple life, or any other activity merely because the anarchistic philosophy is large enough to embrace them.

Now that we have divided society, or at least predominately united only on the broadest proposition, that forcible interference with another's non-invasive

***Communism is prompted by the urge for security. Nearly always communists will be found to be a slave class, or a harassed class, of people. In the class war, the disorganized and exploited realize that the successful accomplishment of their enslavement requires combined effort, based either on organized understanding, or leadership. Thus, and unfortunately not having tasted the benefits of liberty, they make combination, i.e., organization, a fetish. Only to find that complete organization utterly uproots liberty. Ideologically, anarchism is the direct antithesis of communism—a fact which many so-called anarchists seem unable to understand.—L. L.

activities will not be tolerated (that it is legitimately defensible to stop such interferences, even by force) we have as a result a competitive society. With any specific function, say the manufacture and supply of shoes, difference of opinion will divide society, both as respects buyers and sellers, into groups using different methods of production, supplying articles of different qualities and prices, vying with each other, consciously or unconsciously, in satisfying whatever portions of the public that find such activities satisfactory. As long as individuals or groups can maintain a clientele of satisfied customers (the exchange with which constitutes mutuality or cooperation) they will remain in business. Should any group fail to fulfill the demands of possible buyers, the consequent rise in price will invite others into the same or similar enterprise thereby not only equilibrating desires but also making exchanges equitable. On the other hand, should any group fail to find customers for their product it is obvious that lack of demand for their activities will cause them to cease such activity and enter into another for which there may be a social demand.

In this manner organizations of all sorts will spring into existence, supported voluntarily by those who participate in them or who otherwise voluntarily benefit from their activity. Each organization will be owned and controlled exclusively by those who have acquired possession either by its production or through free exchange. Thus, manufacturing projects, commerce, agriculture, as well as schools, libraries, and clubs will be conducted by owners. Exchange relations will be conducted through free contract. There will be no such institution as the State to order all the people about and forcibly collect taxes from them on benevolent pretexts, or to protect some in the exploitation of others, or to do any other thing which its coerced supporters do not desire.

There are other important considerations, not necessarily flowing from the anarchistic principle but which importantly contribute toward evincing the soundness of its application. These involve individual initiative and personal responsibility. Following from the very nature of individuality, each man's actions are prompted in serving his own desires. No one knows best what is good for his neighbor, nor should he have the right to prescribe for him. Every man desires to be, naturally, a "king" in his own domain. And he cannot be if his domain is held jointly by another. Association and organization are always undesirable, per se, and men do associate only as a necessary evil, when the advantages of doing so are greater than isolation. Association always disintegrates when it ceases to serve its purpose, an accomplishment always stimulated and assured by competition. One may well imagine the spread of snootiness, even coercion by violence, that will inevitably accompany attempts to inaugurate communism wherein everything belongs to everyone, to the utter destruction of conflicting opinion and individual independence.

Responsibility rests on punishment, not necessarily the punishment inflicted by men but the punishment inflicted because of the nature of things. When man oversteps the bounds of prudence, by overindulgence, nature will have its due in pain and inconvenience. If a man is unsocial, or lazy, or thrifless, or foolish—all characteristics that receive censure and blame only from the tyrannically minded—he should experience the natural consequences of his characteristics. He will lack friends, or be poorer than his neighbor; he may even excite their risibility by his stupidity. But it is his prerogative to be himself, it is impudent effrontery to meddle in his affairs or to intrusively relieve him from the natural consequences of his actions. One shudders to think what such a man might experience in a consistent communistic community where he would be impelled to "give according to his ability, and receive according to his need." It might seem that such a motto would be very acceptable to those whose "needs" exceed their "abilities." (3) But I am digressing.

Personal responsibility is assured in a property economy wherein one's folly devolves upon himself alone,

Editor of MAN! Jailed Again

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by the daily press, and even by the so-called liberal and radical publications.

The new jailing of Graham will ultimately force even those purveyors of "public opinion" to make known this direct attempt to give a death-blow to the Freedom of the Press.

The Attorneys for the American Civil Liberties Union are going to appeal against the six month's sentence (Graham having been released on a new thousand dollar bond on the "criminal contempt of court" sentence after serving seven days imprisonment and again being forced to sleep on an asphalt floor and deprived of any non-meat food—in the Los Angeles County Jail).

The protesting conscience of America has forced the dismissal of proceedings against Domenick Sallitto. It has halted the deportation of Vincent Ferrero. It can, and undoubtedly will, bring about the dismissal of the deportation proceedings against Marcus Graham, and thereby assure the existence and continuation of this journal as well.

The protesting voice of every true liberty loving man and woman should therefore be raised and directed to the Secretary of Labor, Miss Francis Perkins, Washington, D.C., and copies of said protests should likewise be forwarded to the Marcus Graham Freedom of the Press Committee, 129 West Second Street, Los Angeles, California.

"Eternal Vigilance is the Price of Liberty."

POLITICAL PERSECUTION IN REPUBLICAN SPAIN

On my first visit to Spain in September, 1936, nothing surprised me so much as the amount of political freedom I found everywhere. True it did not extend to Fascists; but outside of these deliberate enemies of the Revolution and the Emancipation of the workers in Spain, everyone of the Anti-Fascist front enjoyed political freedom which hardly existed in any of the so called European democracies. The one party that made the utmost use of this was the P.S.U.C., the Stalinist party in revolutionary Spain. Their radio and loud speakers filled the air. Their daily marches in military formation with their flags waving were flaunted in everybody's face. They seemed to take a special pleasure in marching past the House of the Regional Committee as if they wanted to make the C.N.T.-F.A.I. aware of their determination to strike the blow when they will attain to complete power. This was obvious to anyone among the foreign delegates and comrades who had come to help in the Anti-Fascist struggle. Not so our Spanish comrades. They made light of the communist brazenness. They insisted that this circus trap could not decide the revolutionary struggle, and that they themselves had more important things to do than waste their time in idle display. It seemed to me then that the Spanish comrades had little understanding of mass psychology which needs flagwaving, speeches, music and demonstrations—that while the C.N.T.-F.A.I. however, were concentrated on their constructive tasks, and fighting on the various fronts, their communist allies made hay while their sun shone. They have since proved that they knew what they were about.

During my stay of three months I visited many of the collectivized estates and factories, maternities and hospitals in Barcelona, and last but not least, also the "Modelo" prison. This is the place that had harbored some of the most distinguished revolutionaries and anarchists in Catalonia. Our own heroic comrades Durruti and Ascaso, Garcia Oliver and many others had been cell neighbours of Companys, the new President of the Generalitat. I visited this institution in the presence of a comrade, a physician who had made a special study of criminal-psychology. The Director gave me free access to every part of the prison, and the right to speak to any of the Fascists without the presence of guards. Among the few hundred admirers of Franco were officers and priests. They assured me in one voice of the decent and just treatment they were receiving from the management in charge of the place, most of whom were C.N.T.-F.A.I. men.

The possibility that Fascists would soon be replaced by revolutionists and anarchists was far removed from my mind. If anything, the high water mark of the revolution in the Autumn of 1936 held out hopes that the stain of prison would be wiped out once Franco and his hordes were defeated.

The report of the foul murder of the most gentle of anarchists, Camillo Berneri and his room-mate, the anarchist Barbieri, was followed by wholesale arrests, mutilation and death. They seemed too fantastic, the change in the internal political situation, too incredible to be true. I decided to go back to Spain to see for myself how far the new found freedom of the Spanish masses had been annihilated by Stalin's henchmen.

Once again I arrived on the 16th September this year. I went straight to Valencia and there discovered that 1,500 C.N.T. members, comrades of the F.A.I. and the Libertarian Youth, hundreds of the P.O.U.M. and even members of the International Brigade were filling the prisons of Valencia. During my short stay there, I left no stone unturned to get

or on willing participants, and not to the community at large. One should pay for his mistakes. The unbounded faith in the initiative, responsibility, good judgment, and fairness in men, which must necessarily be the basis for the success of any communistic scheme, is too absurd to merit any but cursory consideration. Divided responsibility is the death of efficiency which is prompted only by the possibility that a man receive his just deserts. (4)

The brief foregoing exposition probably contains sufficient evidence to warrant the belief that I have given an outline of the method of organizing society which anarchists feel justified to call scientific. Every organization is voluntarily formed in all respects, both as regards direction, production, and exchange. It is the only method which may justifiably be called democratic, and it conforms with either altruistic or egoistic philosophies.

It is by such a method of social grouping as herein described, and from the general consent that such freedom is desirable, that I conceive Anarchy may sometime be an existing fact in society. This, of course, necessitates the abolition of all existing States, based as they are on violent coercion, or legally created monopoly, and on class privilege. Under such a free organization of society, the best ways of living and of conducting life will win out because they will have had an opportunity to be tried. Their survival will depend ultimately on merit as judged by the free choice of those concerned. The gist of the anarchistic spirit will be seen to be tolerance of all activities that are non-invasive. The questing of ascertaining the dividing line between invasive and non-invasive conduct can only be answered pragmatically, by the trial and error of social experience.

Whether such a social organization will satisfy the demands of economic equity can be answered only by sufficient familiarity with the economic theories of the anarchistic school. The problem of value, the corner stone of all economic theory, is too extended a subject to be taken up in this brief essay on organization. But familiarity with the profound and complex nature of value will convince an unbiased investigator that only

permission to visit some of our comrades, among them Guel Dorster whom I had known in Germany as most active in the Anarcho-Syndicalist movement before Hitler ascended to power. I was assured that I would be given permission; but at the last moment, before my return to Barcelona, I was informed that foreigners were not allowed to see the Prison. I soon discovered that the same situation was repeated in every town and village I visited. Thousands of comrades and other genuine revolutionaries were filling the prisons under the Negrin-Prieto and Stalinist regime.

When I came back to Barcelona in the early part of October, I immediately sought to see our comrades in the Modelo prison. After many difficulties, comrade Augustin Bouchy succeeded in obtaining permission to have an interview with a few of the German comrades. Much to my surprise I found on my arrival there, that the same Director was still in charge. He too recognized me and he again gave me full entry to the prison. I did not need to speak to the comrades through the hideous bars. I was in the hall where they foregathered, surrounded by German, Italian, Russian and Spanish comrades, all trying to speak at once and tell me of their conditions. I discovered that no charge whatever that would stand in any Court, even under Capitalism, had been preferred against them, except the idiotic charge of "Trotskyism."

These men from every part of the globe had flocked to Spain, often begging their way across, to help the Spanish Revolution, to join the ranks of the Anti-Fascist, and to lay down their lives in the struggle against Franco were held captive. Others again had been picked up on the street and had vanished without leaving any trace behind. Among the many was Reis, son of the internationally known Russian Menshevik Abramowitch.

The most recent victim is Kurt Landau, a former member of the Executive Committee of the Austrian Communist Party, and before his arrest, on the Executive Committee of the P.O.U.M. Every effort to find him has met with failure. In view of the disappearance of Andres Nin of the P.O.U.M. and scores of others it is reasonable to conclude that Kurt Landau met with the same fate.

But to return to the Modelo prison. It is impossible to give all the names, because there are so many incarcerated there. The most outstanding is a comrade who, in a high responsible position before the May events, had turned over millions of pesetas to the Generalitat found in Churches and Palaces. He is held under the ludicrous charge of having embezzled 100,000 pesetas.

Comrade Helmut Klose, a member of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. He was arrested on the 2nd July. No charge has been made up to this date, neither was he brought before a Judge. Comrade Klose was a member of the FAUD in Germany (German Anarcho-Syndicalist Organization). After having been arrested several times, he emigrated to Yugoslavia in the summer of 1933. Expelled from there in February, 1937 because of Anti-Fascist activity. He came to Spain in March. He joined the frontier service of the F.A.I., in the "De la Costa" Battalion. After the dissolution of this Battalion, in June he took his discharge, and entered the service of the Agricultural Collective of San Anore. In compliance with the request of his Group he later undertook the reorganization of the Tailors' Collective of the Emigrants' Committee. The charge made by the Cheka of his having disarmed officers while in the Frontier Service at Figueras is entirely without foundation.

Comrade Albert Kille. He was arrested on September 7th. No reason was given. In Germany he had belonged since

through economic liberty can it be successfully ascertained.

To say that the anarchistic conception outlined above is utopian is to fly in the face of present day fact. Much of the program is experienced already, at least in so-called democratic countries. Wherever liberty has been given a fair trial, it has worked. It is only the denials of liberty—legal monopolies, interferences with the natural and spontaneous organization of social forces by the monopolization of opportunities through or by the State—that causes exploitation, social turmoil, depravity, and degeneration. In America, notwithstanding its present condition of political, financial, and industrial monopoly, we have organizations of all sorts, for many different purposes, and whose memberships overlap considerably. There is no reason except human ignorance and obstinacy hindering extension of these principles to include all human activity. But all physical coercion of non-invasive individuals must stop, and monopolies and laws of privilege be abolished before our aim is reached. The principal difficulty is to overcome the almost universal superstition in the necessity for that institution of organized violence—the Political State.

Laurence Labadie

1. If comrade Labadie would only re-read carefully his own proposed "outline of organizing society which anarchists feel justified to call scientific" in the latter part of his essay, he may find himself far more in agreement with Kropotkin's views on social organization than he presently suspects.

2. Anarchists in general, including of course Anarchist Communists, cannot conceive a true free society as long as "private property, competition, and the wage system"—the very basic evils of today, will still remain with us. It is only the followers of Benjamin R. Tucker, and of whose ideas comrade Labadie is a staunch exponent, that think this is possible.

3. In all the creations of Man, as in all the arts, the principle of giving according to one's ability and to receive according to one's needs that comrade Labadie ridicules, is nevertheless prevalent. And the more so it will be the common thing in a free society.

4. Without having unbounded faith in man, as does the Marxian socialist school, the anarchist would need no separate movement of its own. It is one of the chief gulf's of separation that differentiates one from the other.—Editor.

1919 to the Productive Supply Union. Besides this he was a member of the Communist Party. In 1933 he emigrated to Austria. After the February events he fled to Prague; but later returned to Austria, whence he was expelled and left for France. Here he joined the German Anarcho-Syndicalist Group. In August, 1936, he went to Spain, where he at once proceeded to the front. He was wounded once. He belonged to the Durruti column right up to the time of the militarization. In June he took his discharge.

I also visited the P.O.U.M. Section. Many of these prisoners are Spaniards, but among them there are also a large number of foreigners, Italian, French, Russian and German. Two members of the P.O.U.M. approached me personally. They said little of their own suffering, but begged me to take a message to their own wives in Paris. They were Nicolas Sundelwich—the son of the famous Menshevik who had spent the longest part of his life in Siberia. Nicolas Sundelwich certainly did not give me the impression to be guilty of the serious charges made against him of "having given the Fascists information" among the many other charges against him. It takes the perverted communist mind to hold a man in prison because in 1922 he had illegally left Russia.

Richard Tietz was arrested as he came out of the Argentine Consulate in Barcelona where he had gone on behalf of his wife, previously arrested. When he demanded to know the grounds of his arrest the Commissar nonchalantly said, "I consider it just." That was evidently enough to keep Richard Tietz in the Modelo since July.

As far as prison conditions can be humane the Modelo is certainly superior to the cheka prisons introduced in Spain by the Stalinists according to the best party examples of Soviet Russia. The "Modelo" still maintains its traditional political privileges such as the rights of the inmates to freely mingle together, organize their committees to represent them with the director, receiving parcels, tobacco, etc., in addition to the scanty prison fare. They can also write and receive letters and reading material. Besides, the prisoners issue little prison papers and bulletins which they can paste in the corridors where they all foregather. Both in the section of our comrades and the P.O.U.M. I found such prison papers, posters and photographs of the heroes of the two parties. The P.O.U.M. had even a very fine drawing of Andral Nin and a picture of Rosa Luxemburg, while the anarchist's side had Ascaso and Durruti on their wall.

Most interesting was the Durruti cell which he had occupied in Barcelona until released by the 1936 elections. It was left intact as it had been while Durruti was its involuntary lodger. Several large posters of our gallant comrade made the cell very much alive. The strangest part is however, that the Durruti cell is in the Fascist section. In answer to my question as to why Durruti's cell comes to be in there, I was told by the guard "as an example of the living spirit of Durruti that will destroy Fascism." I wanted very much to have the Durruti cell photographed; but permission had to be obtained from the Minister of Justice. I gave up the idea. I had never in my life asked favours of Ministers of Justice, much less would I ask for anything from the counter-revolutionary government, the Spanish Cheka.

My next visit was to the women's prison, which I found better kept and more cheerful than the Modelo. Only six women politicals were there at the time. Among them Katia Landau the wife of Kurt Landau, who had been arrested several months before him. She was like the old time Russian Revolutionaries, utterly devoted to her ideas. I already knew of her husband's disappearance and possible end; but I did not have the heart to disclose this fact to her. This was in October. In November I was informed by some of her comrades in Paris, that Mrs. Landau had begun a hunger strike on the 11th November. I have just received word that as a result of two hunger strikes Katia Landau has been released.

A few days before my departure from Spain I was informed on good authority that the old dreadful Bastille-Montjuich was again being used to house political prisoners. The infamous Montjuich, whose every stone could tell of man's inhumanity to man, of the thousands put to death by the most savage methods of torture, or driven mad or to suicide. Montjuich, where in 1897, the Spanish Inquisition had been reintroduced by Canovas Del Castillo, then Premier of Spain. It was at his behest that 300 workers, among them distinguished Spanish anarchists, had been kept for months in underground damp and dirty cells—repeatedly tortured and denied counsel. It was in Montjuich that Francisco Ferrer was murdered by the Spanish Government and the Catholic Church. Last year I visited this terrifying fortress. Then it held no prisoners. The cells were empty. We descended into black depths with torches guiding our way. I almost seemed to hear the agonized cries of the thousands of victims who had breathed their last in the ghastly holes. It was a relief to get to the light again.

History does repeat itself after all. Montjuich again serves its old ghastly purpose. It is overcrowded with ardent revolutionaries who had been among the first to rush to the various fronts. Militias of the Durruti column freely giving their health and strength but unwilling to be turned into military automatons—members of the International Brigade who had come to Spain from every land to fight Fascism, only to discover the harsh differentiation between them, their officers and the political commissars, and the criminal waste of human lives due to the military ignorance and for party purpose and glory. All these and many more are incarcerated in the fortress of Montjuich.

Since the world slaughter and the continued horror under dictatorship, red and black, human sensibilities have been atrophied; but there must be a few left, who still have a sense of justice. True Anatole France, George Brandes and so many great souls whose protests saved twenty two victims of the Soviet State in 1922 are no longer with us.

(Continued on Page Six)

IN RETROSPECT OF CURRENT EVENTS

Marxian State Justice On Trial

In exonerating Leon Trotsky and Leon Sedov, the Commission of Inquiry headed by Prof. John Dewey stated:

All these considerations, in connection with its previous conclusions, lead the commission to the conclusion that the trials of August, 1936, and January, 1937, were frame-ups.

In speaking also of the escaped-victim witnesses it had examined, the Commission states:

Their testimony indicates that the system of extorting false confession and employing them to inculpate the confessors and others is today a common practice of the Soviet police.

In rendering this double-fold indictment of Soviet justice the Commission has actually placed the Moscow trials on trial. But only thus far did the Commission venture to go, although all the evidence it had before itself begged a far deeper and more thorough critical approach.

First, Trotsky himself was no novice at employing the very identical methods against opponents—when he was in power—that the Commission has, with full justice, found so condemnable when employed against Trotsky. By having pointed this out, the Commission's impartiality would have gained in prestige.

Second, and most important of all, the Commission should have pointed out the deplorable, but none the less true fact, that its investigation of Soviet justice is an indictment against the most revolutionary self-styled Marxian-socialist State in existence. Furthermore, that this long chain of Soviet malpractices have served as an example for all fascist demagogues to disregard every elementary conception of justice or humanness, and as long as this state of affairs is not changed—Bolshevik ruled Russia, assuming to represent a liberated people, deserves far more trenchant condemnation than do the avowed enemies of freedom—the fascist regimes.

To have approached the Marxian-State Justice from such a consistent and critical angle would have led the Commission to a condemnation of the very instrument of the State as a possible liberating force. This though, would have been expecting the almost impossible to happen, as most of the members of the Commission are themselves brethren of the Marxian clan.

Just the same the findings of the Commission will, in turn, become that instrumental eye-opener of showing up the futility of any kind of possible State justice—that the members of the Commission had never intended them to be. Proof for this prediction is to be found in the very striking comment of Leon Trotsky himself in the *Socialist Appeal* of December 25, 1937, wherein he states:

Judgment of the Commission demonstrates once more that the correct idea is stronger than the most powerful police force.

The Year That Has Passed

A retrospect of outstanding events of the current year must lead one to the momentary indisputable conclusion that mankind has learned very little from the past. A brief review of the occurrences will substantiate this.

The invasion of Spain by all the fascist powers, inaugurated in July, 1936, has continued and broadened. The so-called "democratic" countries, as England and France, as well as the Marxian socialist State of Russia, have revealed themselves as the most formidable tacit force in allowing fascism to carry on its war of destruction in Spain. Had these three states meant one half of what their statesmen's utterances implied, the wanton assassination of tens of thousands of children, women and men of Spain would have ceased within a fortnight. Would there be any true spirit of solidarity prevalent among the toilers of these three named countries, their respective governments would have been forced to stop their secretive betrayal of the Spanish people. But the word solidarity has long lost its meaning, thanks to the ascendancy of labor misleaders everywhere. Capitalist states, fascist ones and the socialist alike have made good use of labor's misleaders.

Japan's invasion of China furnishes another striking illustration of the menace that the very existence of Government—denotes. Where is there an existing Government today that is not owned to the teeth? And where is there to be noticed a single labor movement that should have the honesty and courage to refuse in participating in the production and distribution of armaments and war provisions? All the beautiful sounding pronouncements about peace by every rulership are but, when put to a test, found to be well clothed phraseology hiding Jingoistic aims in order to mislead their subjects into whatever war the exploiters of mankind are fomenting and ordering their respective governments to engage in.

If a second World War has not as yet embroiled mankind by the raping of Ethiopia and Spain, then the Japanese invasion of China may serve as the most feasible excuse for alighting the match.

It is true that to all appearances no Government is anxious to begin a war. But every Government is prepared for war. They only await for the least plausible excuse. And excuses for making war are common. Will the people dare to refuse fighting in a new world war any more than they did in the last one? Twenty years ago the allies came forward to mislead their respective subjects by the claim of attempting to make the world

safe for "democracy." Today the cry of making the world immune from fascism has long ago been raised by Bolsheviks ruled Russia. Who then can be surprised at noting the disciples of Karl Marx as the most effective recruit agents for Mars alongside with such political charlatans as Messrs. Roosevelt, Eden, Blum and Company? The great masses will be misled into another world carnage. The few who know better will be shot or jailed for refusing to wage murder against straw enemies. And as long as the second World War carnage will last—reaction will be in the saddle.

What will follow the end of a second World War carnage is not hard to guess at. Social upheavals of world-wide significance, surpassing in magnitude and importance those that followed in the wake of the last world war, are sure to ensue. Crowns of Kings and rulers in general, as well as their heads may become as cheap as those of the millions of their subjects that will have been sacrificed in vain. A new world will be born, a much more mature and wiser one than the one in which we live today.

Other events of worldy significance have been the unabated extermination of all such in Russia who refuse to bend or acquiesce in the policies of the reigning Marxian - Socialist regime.

As to the elections held on December 12 under the newly promulgated Stalin constitution there seems to be but one opinion about it: the approved list of candidates by the Communist Party were the sole names allowed on the ballot and it was even forbidden to write in any other names. A tragical-fare is the only term that such an election merits.

Benito Mussolini is continuing the extermination of those Ethiopians who still refuse to submit to his henchmen's pillage as Great Britain is doing likewise in India, Palestine and in all such places where her domain is threatened.

The Irish "free state" at last became a reality. What has been the chief issue? Instead of being ruled and exploited directly through England, home politicians and home exploiters will have the preference.

The Palestine debacle, centered around the desire to create a Jewish state, even if it will ever materialize, will no more benefit the exploited Jewish workers there than the "free" Irish state holds forth to benefit the workers of that land. Both the Jewish and the Arab workers need as yet to learn that much.

On the home front many minor incidents have taken place, but every incident forebodes of far more significant resultant evils than they denoted on their seemingly momentary surface.

Over in Jersey City a reputedly known crook, Mayor Frank Hague, has defiantly proclaimed to all concerned that his whole administrative city government is at the service of every exploiter. Strike picketing is taboo, even when 67 leading figures in literature, the theatre, religion, law, journalism and the academic world have come forward to challenge the openly fascist reign of Mayor Hague in behalf of capitalism.

Heywood Patterson, one of the five Scottsboro boys, sentenced to 75 years imprisonment, was refused a review by the United States Supreme Court.

All the avenues of the State's court in California have refused Tom Mooney a re-opening of the frame-up that has left him and Warren K. Billings behind prison bars for the last twenty two years, and now the U. S. Supreme Court is to act upon this long standing travesty upon justice.

Governor Fred P. Cone of Florida, has come forward to advocate the lynching of anyone who questions the whitewash of all those on the police force who participated in the murdering of Joseph Shoemaker.

In New York City, according to the *Daily Worker* of Dec. 24th, Mayor LaGuardia's police brutally killed the 17 year old negro William Shephard. (Quite a nice complimentary act to those workers who followed the advice of the *Daily Worker* to re-elect LaGuardia as Mayor . . .)

The memorial day massacre before the Republic Steel Company, that cost the workers close to a dozen lives (and more than another dozen in other steel centers, 27 all told) ended in bringing to trial 61 workers, and not a single one of the murderers of the workers! By an agreement between the C. I. O. attorney and the states attorney, light fines on all the 61 were imposed. Thus ended the promise and claim of John L. Lewis, to avenge and bring to justice the murderers of 27 workers!

The great savior of America, Mr. Roosevelt, has been double-crossed by his own party in the projected patches he had hoped to make on the present system of exploitation. Undaunted by this set-back, Mr. Roosevelt has called a special session. His cabinet members Mr. Jackson and Mr. Ickes have been blasting the malefactors of wealth on one hand whilst Mr. Roosevelt delivered a message to the new congress which has pleased even Hearst's financial professorial pen-harlots. The palm for letting the eat out of the bag goes to Mr. Jackson, who said:

In 1932, three building material companies lost approximately \$3,000,000; in 1936 those same companies made a gross profit of approximately \$9,000,000.

In 1932, two mail order houses lost \$3,000,000; in 1936, they made a profit above \$50,000,000.

In 1932, three chemical companies made a profit of \$27,000,000; in 1936 they increased that profit to \$96,000,000.

In 1932, three farm implement companies lost \$15,000,000; in 1936 they made a profit of \$44,000,000.

In 1932, four steel companies lost \$82,000,000; in 1936 they made \$70,000,000.

In 1932, two automobile companies lost \$11,000,000; in 1936 they made a profit of \$301,000,000.

In the face of those astounding profits under the present administration, Big Business will never be able to convince American people that it has been imposed upon, destroyed, or even threatened. It has merely been saved from ruin and restored to arrogance.

The unvarnished truth is that the Government's recovery program has succeeded nowhere so effectively as in restoring the profits of Big Business. Labor has had no such prosperity. The small manufacturer has had no such advantage.

Comments on Mr. Jackson's admissions as to whom the Roosevelt administration has benefited and saved are superfluous. * * *

Organized labor in the United States has, under the benediction of the State, made history. The split between the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. has become of secondary importance. From a movement aiming to organize the toilers of the land into an industrial form of organization, the C. I. O. has succeeded in turning the whole force of its gathered strength into a political job-seeking one. Thus we too are to have our Judases, the Millers and Ramsay MacDonalds.

What has been said about the labor struggles, its movement and politics in general in the United States, could just as well be applied to similar conditions in many other countries.

With the prospect of a second world war as a certainty, the exploiters and rulers throughout the world have had, what must be considered, as a very fruitful year. Reaction in its ugliest and blackest form is thus encircling mankind, threatening to extinguish and eradicate whatever little light or freedom humanity has so far achieved.

If humanity fails to meet the challenge hurled at it, the price it will pay for such failure can well be imagined.

True progress moves indeed very slow. Afraid of revolution, humanity pays a terribly huge price for so-called evolution. But its true salvation lies only through the road of the Social Revolution.

This much it has to learn as yet.

Marcus Graham

ON THE BLOCK

And they are still holding conferences about Spain.

This department fears very much those diplomats will talk the Spanish people to death. . . .

Here is something funny, folks: On the very day Italy, Germany and Japan signed a tri-patrite pact against communism, Italian, German and Japanese diplomats joined the Soviet embassy in Rome in celebrating the 20th Anniversary of Russian Bolshevism.

Knock us down with a baseball bat but we'll still fail to get in our noodle why Congress has to pass an "Anti-Lynch" law. Was lynching supposed to be legal? . . .

Well, the cat's out of the bag, folks. After all the huffing and puffing by the Soviet government against Italy for her direct intervention on the side of Franco it leaked out that Soviet oil is flowing to Italy—a great portion of it sure is sent to Franco's bombers.

If anyone doubted diplomatic hypocrisy there it is. . . .

At any rate, the missionaries at last succeeded in bringing their Christian civilization to the Orient. . . .

When we've heard that the Japanese queen had written a poem dedicated to the heroism of her dead soldiers it struck us that one need not be a queen to write poetry, so we called on Santa-Panta.

"Whaddoyousay, Santa," we asked, "you think you could write as good a poem as a queen?"

"Anytime," he snapped back at us,

"Well, let's see what you could do."

"Ya come":

Soldiers of Nippon,
Bravest of men;
How well you are dying
For dear old Japan.
But what you'll receive
In the grave of the dead
The "queenee" should have
In her soft-cushioned bed. . . .

Did you ever bet on a one-horse race? You could have made lotsa dough if you'd been smart enough to lay seven to five that Stalin would have been elected. . . .

It is said from good authority that every morning when Comrade Stalin rises from bed he repeats Garbo's immortal phrase "I Want Be Alone" . . .

* * *

Fellow citizens and cash-customers, we have an important announcement to make. Our Santa-Panta sent in an application to a well known insane asylum for admission. You care to know why? Well, it seems when on armistice day King George VI spoke at the tomb of the Unknown Soldier about "everlasting peace" someone from the crowd, who heckled over "hypocrisy," was immediately declared insane. That, he says, convinced him that all sane people are there and he wants to be amongst them.

Santa-Panta

DEFENDERS OF FREEDOM THROUGH THE AGES

(Continued from Last Issue)

RT. HON. C. J. FOX (1795) : Parliamentary History.

It is not the law that is to be found in books that constitutes—that has constituted the true principles of any country at any time. No, it is the energy, the boldness of a man's mind which prompts him to speak not in private, but in large and popular assemblies, that constitutes, that creates in a state the spirit of freedom.

REV. HORATIO POTTER in "Intellectual Liberty," 1837.

Connected therefore, with freedom of opinion, and resting on the same basis, are our freedom of speech and freedom of the press—rights, without which freedom of opinion is but a name and a mockery.

JOHN STUART MILL: From "An Essay on Liberty," 1859.

The time, it is to be hoped, is gone by when any defence would be necessary of the "liberty of the press" as one of the securities against corrupt or tyrannical government. No argument, we suppose, can now be needed, against permitting a legislature or an executive, not identified in interest with the people, to prescribe opinions to them, and determine what doctrines or what arguments they shall be allowed to hear.

Let us suppose, therefore, that the government is entirely at one with the people, and never thinks of exerting any power of coercion unless in agreement with what it conceives to be their voice. But I deny the right of the people to exercise such coercion, either by themselves or by the government. The power itself is illegitimate . . . if mankind minus one were of one opinion, and only one person were of the contrary opinion, mankind would be no more justified in silencing that one person than he, if he had the power, would be justified in silencing mankind. . . . But the peculiar evil of silencing the expression of an opinion is, that it is robbing the human race, posterity as well as the existing generation; those who dissent from the opinion, still more than those who hold it. . . . Complete liberty of contradicting and disapproving our opinion is the very condition which justifies us in assuming its truth for purposes of action; and on no other terms can a being with human faculties have any rational assurance of being right.

Strange it is, that men should admit the validity of the arguments for free discussion, but object to their being "pushed to an extreme," not seeing that unless the reasons are good for an extreme case, they are not good for any case. . . . However positive any one's persuasion may be, not only of the falsity but of the pernicious consequences, but (to adopt an expression which I altogether condemn) the immorality and impiety of an opinion; yet if, in pursuance of that private judgement, though backed by the public judgment of his country or his contemporaries, he prevents the opinion from being heard in its defence, he assumes infallibility. And so far from the assumption being less objectionable or less dangerous because the opinion is called immoral or impious, this is the case of all others in which it is most fatal. These are exactly the occasions on which the men of one generation commit those dreadful mistakes, which excite the astonishment and horror of posterity. It is among such that we find the instances memorable in history, when the arm of the law has been employed to root out the best men and the noblest doctrines. . . .

THOMAS HENRY HUXLEY: From "Miscellaneous Essays," 1875.

the real blasphemy—in this matter, is the attempt to limit that inquiry into the causes of phenomena, which is the source of all human blessings, and from which has sprung all human prosperity and progress: . . . he who endeavors to narrow the sphere of our inquiry is only pursuing a course that is likely to produce the greatest harm to his fellow men. . . . Wherever bigotry has prevailed, bigotry has accompanied it. It lies at the root of the deep-seated, sometimes disguised, but never absent, antagonism of all the varié of ecclesiasticism to the freedom of thought and to the spirit of scientific investigation.

HERBERT SPENCER: From "Principles of Ethics," 1879.

By a parallel of progress there has been established that right of free speech on political questions which in early days was denied. . . . So long as he does not suggest the commission of crimes, each citizen is free to say what he pleases about any or all of our institutions—even to the advocacy of a form of government utterly different from that which exists, or the condemnation of all governments.

BRADLAUGH

Without free speech no search for truth is possible. . . . Better a thousand fold abuse of free speech than denial of the speech. The abuse dies in a day, but the denial slays the life of the people and entroubles the hope of the race.

HENRY WARD BEECHER

Free speech is to a great people what winds are to the oceans and malarial regions, which waft away the elements of disease and bring new elements of health; and where free speech is stopped, miasma is bred, and death comes fast.

BENJAMIN BROOK in "History of Religious Liberty."

Let them not call the magistrate's authority to aid their eloquence, or learning; let, perhaps, while they

pretend love for truth, their intemperate zeal, breathing but intolerance, betray their ambition, and their desire of dominion.

EDMUND BURKE in "A Vindication of Natural Society."

In this situation, men not only shrink from the frowns of a stern magistrate, but are obliged to fly from their very species. . . . This species of universal subserviency, that makes the very servant who waits behind your chair the arbiter of your life and fortune, has such a tendency to degrade and abase mankind, and to deprive them of that assured and liberal mind which alone can make us what we ought to be. . . .

RALPH WALDO EMERSON

What is the scholar, what is the man for but for hospitality to every new thought of his time?

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON

He who is for forcibly stopping the mouth of his opponent, or for burning any man at the stake, or thrusting him into prison . . . on account of his peculiar view on any subject is under the dominion of a spirit of ruffianism or cowardice, or animated by that fierce intolerance which characterized Paul of Tarsus in his zeal to exterminate the heresy of Christianity.

WILLIAM GOODWIN in "An Inquiry Concerning Justice."

Nothing can be more unreasonable than an attempt to retain men in one common opinion by the dictate of authority. The opinion thus obtruded upon the minds of the public is not their real opinion; it is only a project by which they are rendered incapable of forming an opinion. Whenever government assumes to deliver us from the trouble of thinking for ourselves, the only consequences it produces are those of terror, imbecility. . . . Either mankind will resist the assumptions of authority undertaking to superintend their opinions, and then these assumptions will produce no more than an ineffectual struggle; or they will submit, and then the effect will be injurious. He that in any degree consigns to another the task of dictating his opinions and his conduct, will cease to inquire for himself, or his inquiries will be languid and inanimate.

HELVETIUS in "De l'Homme."

It is unnatural and unreasonable to persecute disagreeing opinions. Unnatural for understanding being a thing wholly spiritual, cannot be restrained, and therefore neither punished by corporal afflictions. It is the aliena republica, a matter of another world. . . . The press therefore should be free. The magistrate who prevents it opposes all improvements in morality and politics, he sins against his country, he chokes the very seed of those happy ideas which the liberty of the press would produce. And who estimates the loss! Wherever this liberty is withheld, ignorance, like a profound darkness, spreads over the minds of men. . . . When a government prohibits writing on matters of administration, it makes a vow of blindness, a vow which is common enough.

THOMAS JEFFERSON

Error of opinion may be tolerated when reason is left free to combat it.

W. H. LECKY: From "A History of Rationalism," 1900.

If persecution is necessary in the defense of truth, it has a fearful efficacy in preventing men from discovering it. . . . For truth is scattered far and wide in small portions among mankind, mingled in every system with dross of error, grasped perfectly by no one, and only in some degree discovered by the careful comparison and collation of opposing systems. To crush some of these systems, to stifle the voice of argument, to ban and proscribe the press, or compel it to utter only the sentiment of a single sect, is to destroy the only means we possess of arriving at truth. . . . For the object of the persecutor is to suppress one portion of the item of discussion; it is to determine the judgement by an influence other than reason; it is to prevent that freedom of inquiry which is the sole method of arriving at truth. The persecutor never can be certain that he is not persecuting truth rather than error, but he may be quite certain that he is suppressing the spirit of truth.

Each stage of advancing toleration marks a stage of the decline of the spirit of dogmatism and of the increase of the spirit of truth.

JAMES PATTERSON

Dissent, after having long been an unquestionable crime, has ended by becoming almost a cornerstone of the glory of our civilization.

PRICE in "Importance of the American Revolution."

Civil governors go miserably out of their proper province whenever they take upon them to care for truth, or the support of doctrinal points. They are not judges of truth, and if they pretend to decide about it, they will decide wrong. It is superstition, idolatry, and nonsense, that civil power at present supports almost everywhere, under the idea of supporting sacred truth, and opposing dangerous error.

WENDELL PHILLIPS

No matter whose lips that would speak, they must be free and un gagged. Let us believe that the whole truth can never do harm to the whole of virtue; and remember that in order to get the whole of truth, you must allow every man, right or wrong, freely to utter his conscience, and protect him in so doing. Entire un-

shackled freedom for every man's life, no matter what his doctrine—the safety of free discussion no matter how wide the range. The community which dares not protect its humblest and most hated member in the free utterances of his opinions, no matter how false or hateful, is only a gang of slaves.

TOWNSEND in "Libel and Slander."

The liberty of the press consists in the right to publish with infinity truth with good motives and for justifiable ends whether it respects governments, magistracy or individuals.

PERCY BYSSHE SHELLEY

Surely the individual who devotes his time to fearless and unrestricted inquiry into the grand questions arising out of moral nature, ought rather to receive the patronage than encounter the vengeance of an enlightened legislation.

CHARLES ERSKINE SCOTT WOOD

It should not require scholarship to show the self-evident truth for which the history of the world and all Nature is the laboratory: that those who submit to rulers cannot go out of bounds, but must remain static; and those who insist on growth must burst bonds and disobey the law. Man's history is simply one long record of disobeying laws and authority. When a people has lost its freedom and reverently submits to the laws of its rulers, what does that mean in life-terms? It means the exploitation of the submissive by the predatory governors. The reason for the existence of government is that somebody may be compelled to submit to the will of somebody else, and the great persistent reason for this compulsion is the tyrant egotism of those who govern or the advantage and profit accruing to them.

We are saving the type of this series in order to reprint them in a pamphlet that will also contain an expose of the persecutions inflicted upon MAN! for the last four years, including the speech of Marcus Graham before being sentenced to six months imprisonment.

We have on hand a fund of \$11.50 which was intended for the reprint of Voltaire de Cleyre's essay on "Anarchism." The printer who set our first issue in Los Angeles refused to carry out his promise to print the pamphlet due to intimidation. This sum of \$11.50 will be used as the opening fund for the intended pamphlet, tentatively named "Defenders of Freedom Thought Through the Ages."

Who will contribute the next sum to this Pamphlet Fund?

MAN!

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS RECEIVED

ANARCHISM:

Is it Possible? By William Farrer. 14 Pages. 10 Cents. W. Farrer, 22 Sale Street, London, W. 2, England.

AND GOD SAID:

By Jack Greenberg. 33 Pages. Pamphlet-form. 75 cents.

LIGHTS ALONG THE ROAD:

By Jack Greenberg. 93 Pages. Bound. \$2.00.

SEPTEMBER LEAVES:

By Jack Greenberg. 64 Pages. Bound. \$2.00. (All three volumes obtainable from the Author at 756 S. Broadway, Los Angeles, California.)

A WORKMAN'S CHURCH:

An expose of the "nature and function of the Salem Evangelical Church" of Buffalo, N. Y. 24 Page-pamphlet. (No price given.)

ESTAMPAS DE LA REVOLUCION ESPANOLA 19 JULIO DE 1936:

A beautiful 31 Page-Album of masterful drawings—depicting the heroic struggle of Spain. Issued by the CNT. Price One Dollar (Add 25 Cents postage). Obtainable from the Spanish Labor Press Bureau, 170 Fifth Avenue, New York City, or through MAN!

IBERIAN ANARCHIST FEDERATION:

To the International Libertarian Movement on the Present Situation in Spain. 16 Page-pamphlet. Five Cents. The Anarchist Communist Federation, 287 Netherton Road, Glasgow, W. 3, Scotland.

SPAIN!

A Challenge To Pacifism, by H. Runham Brown, 10-page pamphlet. Five Cents. War Registers' International, 11, Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex, England.

THE COLLAPSE OF MARXISM:

By A. B. Cobbs. 14 Letter-Head Page pamphlet, Mimeo-graphed. 25 Cents. From Author: 1511 Capitol Bldg., Chicago, Illinois.

THE FLIVER KING:

By Upton Sinclair. 119 Page-pamphlet form. 25 Cents. From Author: Station A, Pasadena, California.

THE PROBLEM OF PALESTINE:

By Harold F. Bing. 14 page-pamphlet. Five Cents. War Registers' International, 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex, England.

THE TRUTH ABOUT BARCELONA:

(Dealing with the May events of 1937.) 15 Pages. Five Cents. Anti-Parliamentary Volunteers, 287 Netherton Road, Glasgow, W. 3, Scotland.

UNE GUERRE DE SURPOPULATION:

By Manuel Devoldes. 30 Page-pamphlet. Prix 1 Fr. 50. Editions De "La Grande Réforme" 14, Rue de la Duee, Paris, France.

MAN!

A Monthly Journal of the Anarchist Ideal and Movement

MARCUS GRAHAM, Editor

Subscription Price: \$1.00 per year, 6 months-50c

Sample Copies Free Upon Request.

MAN! invites the collaboration of all workers and artists who are in sympathy with our ideas to send us essays, prose, poems, and drawings. No payment can be made. Where return of manuscript is desired sufficient postage should be included.

Administration and Editorial Address

MAN!

Room 524, 129 West Second Street

Los Angeles, Calif., U.S.A.

RESISTING ATTACK UPON FREEDOM OF THOUGHT

Voices of Protest

We will only be too glad to be of whatever help we can in your fight against discrimination.

American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

I am enclosing check for \$5.00 as a contribution toward the expense of your Committee. . . . If I may be of help to your Committee locally let me know.

L. L. Abel.

Just finished the December issue of MAN! from cover to cover, good stuff, I hope you will be able to go on with your work and MAN! unmolested, it's about time. Am enclosing a dollar for the continuation of MAN! I wish I could give much more, but you know.

Wishing you and MAN! a happy New Year, with comradely greetings,

Lillian G. Buck.

I enclose \$5.00 for your work. You have my permission to list my name as an honorary member of your Committee . . . if my name is of value to you.

Steven T. Byington.

Enclose find money order for \$5.00 donation for the Marcus Graham Freedom of the Press Committee. The working class cannot afford to lay down on the job against corruption and slavery.

John Duscheck.

Enclosed you will find \$2.00 to help you along with your freedom and wish you success and liberty.

Thomas Delaney.

Sorry to learn that the idiotic or malignant authorities are again harassing you. If it will be of any help you may include me on the Marcus Graham Freedom of the Press Committee. . . . I recall with grateful pleasure your sending me a copy of An Anthology of Revolutionary Poetry some years ago.

Carl Haessler.

It is surprising that the radical press does not realize the significance of this under-hand attack on a radical journal. This issue is comparable to the Sacco-Vanzetti case because the Federal authorities are attempting to kill an idea and to silence those who adhere to the idea.

Harold Prece.

Miss Millay wants me to send you \$10.00 to aid the Marcus Graham Freedom of the Press Committee. . . . In case you have a pamphlet or some literature I will be greatly obliged if you will send this to her. . . .

Mary J. Metter.

Sec. to Edna St. Vincent Millay.

We were waiting to collect as much money as possible before sending it to you, but decided it is best to send what we already have, as money is probably needed urgently and at once. Whatever comes in later will follow in time. . . . It would help a lot if the American Civil Liberties Union in New York would give the case a little more publicity, as few people outside our own seem to know anything about it here in the east.

Helen Redome.

I am glad to sign the postal card in regard to the Marcus Graham case and glad that you have taken up this flagrant case. I have no clear idea of things for which MAN! stood, but if they were not immoral, as I am assured they were not, I must stand in favor of his right to print them. . . . The rapidity with which we seem to be sliding toward a virtually Fascist interpretation of the powers of the state is somewhat bewildering to one who still believes in the process of democracy and the inviolability of freedom.

Charles Edward Russell.

Honorable James L. Houghteling
Commissioner of Immigration
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

I wish to add my protest to that of all liberty-loving persons and real believers in the real freedom of the press, in behalf of Marcus Graham, who has been harassed for more than a decade and who now faces a deportation order issued eighteen years ago. It is my opinion that this editor and publisher is entitled to the same rights under our Constitution as the publishers of the enormously powerful Republican and Democratic newspapers.

Very truly yours,
George Seelies.

Inclosed find check for \$12.00, which are to be used as defense fund for the freedom of our comrade Graham. The list of donors is enclosed. . . . We all hope that the final victory will be on our side and I say it must be on our side.

Chung Shih.

Political Persecution in Republican Spain

(Continued from Page Three)

Still there are the Gides, the Silones, Aldous Huxley, Havelock Ellis, John Cowper Powys, Rebecca West, Ethel Mannin and others, who would surely protest if made aware of the political persecutions rampant under the Negrín, Prieto and Communist regime.

At any rate I cannot be silent in the face of such barbarous political persecutions. In justice to the thousands of our comrades in prison, I have left behind, I will, and must speak out.

Emma Goldman

(The manuscript of the above article was forwarded to me by my Contemporary "L'Adunata Del Refrattari.")

EDITOR

I want to tell you that I am very glad they have you arrested and want to deport you because there is no doubt you do not fit for this present world of ours. I am so glad, that in order to express my great gratitude I decided that next time when I go to church I will donate a quarter for the priest, that he shall pray for your soul; when they torture you both mind and body. Good for you. When you are living in a world of crooks, liars and politicians you must be likewise. But when you come out and speak the truth and nothing but the truth, you are foreign to them. Truth and Justice is not in their jurisdiction. You say that they gave you once the third degree, and why shouldn't they do so? They want to find out what kind of a pudding truth is, of course they remain ignorant of it but that is their privilege. You see, I assure you that they did not give the third degree to the gangster Al Capone. That is because they know each other perfectly. The Government and Capone are in the same business. They all belong to the same category. You see, as long as Al Capone gave the Government a big portion of (his fortunes) then he was considered as a desirable citizen, but when he decided as a crook to crook the crooks, then he became an undesirable citizen and then they had to put him in jail. I assure you that Tom Mooney and Billings were given the third degree because they are foreign to them too. They can't imagine that some people will not sell their conscience for money, therefore they are in jail for the last twenty-two years, although the whole world knows they are innocent. All the lawyers and judges of America know they are innocent, but they still remain in jail. Even the Supreme Court of the United States, which is supposed to be just above all Justices are mum, because they know that the Utility Trust wants them to remain there. Who can have respect for such justice? You are surprised how the police dare break into your house, without a warrant, steal everything they could lay their hands on. You think that is illegal, but that's your own fault, if you possessed nothing they could not steal anything, and if you were not born yet, they would not have you arrested. It seems to me that you do not know what policemen are made of. I'll give you an example: They take a monster that weighs 200 or more pounds and drain the last bit of brains they have in their head (if they have any). They put a uniform on him or it and a badge for 10c that makes him a person of authority, they give him a revolver and a club, the kind that a dog killer used in the far past, also a pair of hand cuffs that makes him a policeman, and the law is in their pockets. And no matter what crime they commit, it is legal. Didn't you read in the papers about the six policemen who were indicted in Tampa, Florida together with other Ku-Klux Klan members? Joseph Shoemaker—they burned him alive with hot tar, also two others, and flogged them, just to amuse themselves. Shoemaker died shortly afterwards. When the cases came to the court of justice, the judge acquitted them with the remark (no evidence) which was a lie. There were eye witnesses, that were tortured with Shoemaker, and you want the truth and nothing but the truth and justice. Nonsense! What? They say you are a foreigner? Tell them that they are lying, they are foreigners, they do not know the Constitution of this Country. Tell them to go to school and learn to read the Constitution which our forefathers worked and worried about to make this a land for the free and the truth seekers, and not for crooks, grafters and gangsters and politicians. Tell them to deport the man from the moon, he is a foreigner. What right has he to look down shamefully on our miserable world in which our rulers have no idea of morals and human dignity? Listen Mr. Graham, the next time when you are in court, will you please ask the judge to show the deed which the Government officials received from God Almighty that this part of the globe belonged to them only and no decent person has a right to live here? If the bible does not lie and I believe these government officials are all good church members, let them read the bible where it says that after God created the world, he created man, he blessed to multiply and cover the earth with his offspring.

No definite place was allotted for anybody. You follow the word of God, you are where you are, where you have a right to be. If they don't like it let them go to —, where they will be sure they won't meet you.

SHA TRUTAH.

* * *

Deportation of Sallitto Defeated

The attempt of the Labor Department to hand over Domenick Sallitto to Fascist Italy, where he would have been imprisoned or executed, came to an end during the first week of January as the entire proceedings against him were dismissed.

No less than 40,000 individual protests against the attempt to deport Sallitto and Vincent Ferrero were forwarded to the Secretary of Labor, Miss Francis Perkins. Labor organizations representing 500,000 members sent similar protests.

Last November a committee headed by the wife of the late assistant secretary of Labor, Louis F. Post, presented to Miss Francis Perkins a protest of 100 renowned men and women in the realm of every field of Art and Education urging the dropping of the deportation proceedings against Ferrero and Sallitto.

The nation-wide protest finally forced the Labor Department to dismiss the proceedings against Sallitto.

The attempt to hand over Ferrero to Fascist Italy by deporting him in November 28, 1937, came to halt as a result of a bill in Congress introduced by Congressman Cellar of Brooklyn, N. Y., as it also effected a stay in the attempted handing over of Hans Gosep to Nazi Germany.

The work of the Ferrero-Sallitto conference proved itself not to have been in vain. The liberty-loving men and women of America, who have protested the deportation of Ferrero and Sallito may congratulate themselves on the significant achieved victory. It will prove a warning to the so-called

"servants of the people" that every similar foul attempt of theirs in the future will be challenged and protested as well.

Felix Fernandez

Felix Fernandez, who fled Cuba to escape imprisonment, has been arrested in Tampa, Florida, and is being held for deportation on the ground he is in the country illegally, according to information received here today by the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

Fernandez, who is married to an American-born citizen and is the father of an American-born child, is being defended by the Florida Sub-Committee of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. C. C. Parker, Tampa attorney retained by the Florida Sub-Committee to defend the Cuban, states that he is a political refugee and that his deportation would break up his family, leaving his wife and child stranded.

Sweden Recognizes Right of Asylum

A new law redefining the rights of non-citizens resident in Sweden, which is to go into effect January 1, 1938, recognizes the right of asylum for political refugees in that country, according to information received here today by the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

The law specifies that every foreigner who has fled from a country "for political reasons" is to be considered a political refugee. The law specifies further that a foreigner may not be extradited to a country from which he has fled for political reasons, or to any other country which he has reason to fear may extradite him there.

ANIELA WOLBERG

The death of Aniela Wolberg is a great loss to us and to the Polish Anarchist movement. (1907-1937)

After serious study Aniela joined the revolutionary ranks in 1924. At the Cracow University she came in contact with a group of Bulgarian Anarchist students, among whom was Taczo Petroff, who since then found his death in prison.

Although coming from a wealthy family Aniela understood that the Polish Anarchist movement had to take root in the masses. Soon she secretly published "The Proletariat."

In 1926 Aniela was in Paris continuing her studies. She became the soul of "Walka" a Polish Anarchist monthly. When only twenty years old she sacrificed time and money for her ideal. At that time her sense of criticism and reality was highly developed; her heart was passioned for the masses, for the revolution. Her burning aim was to help the formation of an Anarchist movement in Poland; one that would not be locked up in groups, but powerful, popular, and able to materialize our aspirations.

Aniela received her degree of licentiate in science at the University of Montpellier, France. Here she cooperated with French and Spanish groups, yet never ceasing her activity with the Polish comrades in Paris and Poland.

Later Aniela found a position as a chemical-engineer in a Parisian automobile factory. But the French police had accumulated a heavy record of her activity and succeeded in deporting her from France.

In 1932 Aniela was secretly editing "Walka Klas," and acting as Secretary of the Polish Anarchist Federation. When arrested in 1934, she was immediately released because of lack of evidence. When reaction gained the upper hand Anarchist propaganda in Poland became nearly impossible. Zealously, she devoted herself to science. New hope came along: The Spanish Revolution!

And soon Aniela was in Spain among the most active comrades. She lectured on Oct. 9th and died Oct. 11th from an urgent and unsuccessful operation.

We shall always be faithful to the memory of our dear comrade Aniela Wolberg.

GROUP DURRUTI

(Translated by J. S.)

IN ITALY

A comrade who has just returned to France after quite a long stay in Italy gives some of his impressions which may be of interest to some readers.

"Except in the residential sections of cities, there is misery everywhere, especially among the industrial workers. People are ragged and half naked, the food is terrible and scarce, the filth is undescribable, beggars are seen at every street corner and the paltry dwellings are repugnant. Such conditions prevail throughout the country.

"There is, however, more wretchedness in the South than there is in the North. All in all possibility of a material revolution seems to be ripe. Life for the working masses is more severe.

"Psychologically the workers appeared to be downhearted, brutal, and submissive. In a general sense, at least for the present, there exists a kind of torpor and fatalism which seems to have benumbed every soul. Any efficacious fight against Fascism, any rebellious movement appears to be almost impossible without an outside impulse. The enormous militia, police, and administrative powers nip in the bud the least attempt at rebellion. All efforts lie dormant; but the awakening cannot be far off."

(Translated from "Terre Libre" by J. S.)

* * *

The state must be abolished! In that revolution I will take part. Undermine the idea of the state; make willingness and spiritual kinship the only essentials in the case of a union—and you have the beginning of a liberty that is of some value. The changing of form of government is mere toying with degrees—a little more or a little less—folly the whole of it.

HENRIK IBSEN

ART and LITERATURE

TIME'S ROYAL BEGGARS

The glib cynicism of our day has lately centered its frontal attack upon the values of romanticism. Perhaps time in its relative phases disfigures all things so that the tombs of the great become spittoons for parvenu critics. With the true spirit of intellectual bawdiness, these critics refer in amused fashion to "the musty gallantry of the Seventeenth Century"—as if mustiness constitutes artistic damnation for Herrick, Carew, and Lovelace. Or if the individual commentator has a shade more of personal decency, he speaks in a tolerantly contemptuous manner of those who transformed English verse from homilies into poetry, generally damning the authors with faint praise for their "quaintness."

Let the worst be admitted: that the rhyming cavaliers of the Seventeenth Century were probably bedding with wenches from the tap rooms at the time they addressed their protestations to *Anthea* or *Celia*. Perhaps there was not a little of the exhibitionist in all of those gentlemen who dedicated sonnets to appropriately fragile women. But amusing commentaries cannot detract from the essential values of those ideals portrayed in faithful, if slightly, exaggerated fashion by these Romantics. Poets—earth's lost children—may set for themselves standards of perfection and impeccable fidelity. It is obviously unfair to expect poets to abide consistently by any credo.

For the extravagance of the moment often embodies the truth of centuries. In an age the most frivolous and the most profound of English chronology, Herrick and his contemporaries were reiterating the timeless symbol of man versus woman: that conflict which is resolved only superficially either through celibacy or marriage. This conflict is our human inheritance whether in the Seventeenth Century or the Twentieth; and it is perhaps only on this plane that art approaches a universality independent of sociology or politics. The reflexes of brain and muscles repeat this situation interminably; and in an age when people concentrate upon love as a demoniac catharsis, literature becomes the fit compensation for all the physio-nervous aspects of the dilemma.

In that dead world of adulteries gracefully consummated, of faith shaken by the evanescence implicit in any relation, the poets of both the countryside and the court were the predestined scapegoats, the warriors whose understanding of the conflict made them only more vulnerable. Beyond the fact that Cynthia's raven locks may have been somewhat stringy and that Lucas's legs were possibly bowed from a fall in childhood, there remained, as always, that need for sexual and intellectual companionship which is the denouement of the human tragedy itself. The poet, as in all ages, found himself the pawn to forces more elemental than his verse.

Mr. Cabell, that disillusioned descendant of the gentlemen bards, has always been very much perturbed because the daughters of Eve instinctively prefer the extrovert man of affairs to the introvert man of letters. But nothing is more clear from the example of that highly amorous society which we are considering than that the sexual conflict is intensified between woman and artist. It is a commonplace to say that the emotional similarities of woman and artist make for attraction and repulsion on the same scale. John Donne, with intuitive clarity, realized this fact when he declared:

"Now thou hast loved me one whole day,
Tomorrow when thou leav'st what wilt thou say?
Wilt thou then antedate some new-made vow?
Or say that now

We are not just those persons which we are!"

No woman, brought up within the fixed limitations of a caste-ridden society, can be expected to appreciate permanently a man who is a psychic caricature of herself. Nor is it any matter of wonder that the multiple expressions of a poet's affection move a woman to tearful recollections long after she has become the property of her snoring spouse. In one of his delightful peevish, Mr. Cabell declares that "it is the fate of every poet to have loved Mrs. Murgatroyd." But Mrs. Murgatroyd, being also a glandular mechanism and a product of social conditionings, must not be condemned too roundly by the desolate *Smirti*.

For the poet seeks in woman an emotional security which she seeks in man as a species. From the maker of verse, woman receives the more delicate flora of human affection. From the proverbial husband who has never read a book, she receives a ballast which she would not abandon for any Petrarch vexing his life over the institution of matrimony. Andrew Marvell's "coy mistress" no doubt appreciated the verses which were the unreturned benison of her lover. It is the fault of life, capricious in its satisfaction of human desires, that she probably became the bride of some thick-necked parliamentarian.

Few poets attain the adult detachment of those men who bind women with marriage vows. Every maker of verse is haunted by the mother-image so that he must realize in woman both the maternal and the sexual. What young man, scribbling his first sonnets, has not been told by his sweetheart that she must protect him against such unpleasant fatalities as traffic accidents and failure to eat his breakfast? The self-abasing deference shown to women by the poets of the Seventeenth Century expresses graphically the desire of the authors for the maternal peace which only woman can give—even when that desire is couched in humble appeals for the pleasures of her body. William Shakespeare, for all his titanic comprehension of individual psychology,

evokes this mother-image when, remembering the lost security of feminine affection, he says:

"Haply I think on thee and then my state
Like to the lark at break of day arising
From sultry earth, sings hymns at heaven's gate;
For thy sweet love remembered such wealth brings
That then I scorn to change my state with kings."

But there is a supreme faculty in woman which intensifies the particular conflict between herself and the male artist. It is another mark of the constantly inconsistent that woman expects devotion from her mate, but that she is also likely to sacrifice her mate at any overpowering show of devotion. The temporary intensity of a poet's affection becomes too repetitious to be convincing. Besides, he has probably written sonnets to some other woman the day before. Knowing instinctively the particular weakness of the erratic mendicant who seeks her crumbs, *Anthea* chooses invariably the one whom she may reasonably expect to keep his marriage vows. The man who sells bonds or bacon may have little perception of the nuances hidden within her personality. But, at least, he can be housebroken and taken to church with a minimum of marital strain.

Fortunately or unfortunately, depending upon the point of view, women and poets are each mystics. But woman's mysticism is still the one sanctioned by law and custom, not to mention the canons of the Holy Fathers: Catholic and Protestant. Essentially preoccupied with preserving routine, she finds an interpretation of the unexplainable in all manner of religious liturgy. To most poets, living according to highly sensitized personal visions, orthodoxy is an imprisonment, rather than a release, of emotions. It is traditional with woman, however, that she must bind a man if she is to retain him.

Indeed, what other course is open to a sex still laboring, to a great extent, under the compulsion of fear and economic dependence? And as the Seventeenth Century accentuated the glorification of love, so did it heighten these internal dilemmas of human passion. If we are to believe the laments of the poets themselves, never were so many makers of verse jilted as during the century of Crashaw and Drayton. Someone has said, on the other hand, that prudent burghers exercised less supervision over their daughters when the Cromwell dictatorship temporarily muzzled unsanctified artists.

Be that as it may, the social structure of the entire period made it more difficult than usual for poets to find the genuine satisfactions of love. The English aristocracy did a brisk business in trading off their girls to other members of the aristocracy. Had *Charis* loved Ben Jonson, and the poet himself been divorced from his "honest shrew," it is highly improbable that the young woman's parents would have permitted her union with a man who started life as a bricklayer. A

duke might be harelipped and scarcely literate, but the regularity of his income was unquestionable. Moreover, the marriage of the duke and lovely *Rosalyn* might eventually bring a few more acres into the estate of the bride's family.

Yet this staggering disappointment of genius resulted in a literary tradition of Eros which has never been surpassed in Western Europe. Through exploration of the feminine soul with all its tremulous questings, the poets of the Seventeenth Century found a rationale in confusion and an artistic motif greater than addresses to the saints. To that extent, we are indebted to them for the urbane influence of that world long since buried. To that extent, they constituted a civilizing force which was to survive the pious and dull vulgarity of the bilious years when Cromwell ruled. Their sincere, if naive, consideration, for women acted as a leaven in a society which had enslaved women with the silken mockery of chastity—not less studied than subtle.

Nor can the daughters of *Julia* and *Anthea* escape their debt to those who attained immortality through immortalizing women. The uneasy consciences of those who had enslaved woman were pricked by the voices of those others who proclaimed lyrically the virtues of an enchain sex. Because art is interwoven so vitally with the erotic impulse, it can never escape that final mood of tribute to the other sex exemplified by those disconsolate rhymers. Moreover, Jonson, Herrick, Carew, and their contemporaries confirmed woman in the secret opinion she has always had of herself. To the elementary courtesies and responses between the sexes, they imparted the sovereign value of love for love's sake.

Nor is it any token of brilliance for lachrymose biographers to condemn the maidens who fled from the embraces of the royal beggars. Tranquil domesticity may be pleasant to those men who can afford the price, but it has contributed little to the world-spirit expressed in literature. Jonson was able to keep *Charis* in his heart. He would have lost the greater part of her underneath a roof or beside a cradle. However painful the lives of those who become bleeding sacrifices to the universal culture, we cannot spare one genius to the comfortable mediocrity of the fireside. There is no true alexin for man's cancerous woes in the stodginess of a cottage. Our remedy lies rather in the interpretation of destiny through those who have experienced destiny.

Let Carew dead retain *Celia* imperishably in the leaves of art, since this is the only sure possession. We who see yet the cosmic affinity and the cosmic warfare know that faith and betrayal are but opposite stamps of the same coin. For in terms of life, each is the fulfillment of the other.

Harold Preece

POETRY

BUT WHAT CAN BE DONE.

Two things:

*Let the nation go its way,
And take hold of the apron-strings of
Mother nature and follow, closely,
Steadily, relentlessly:
Not that we love the nation less, but that
We love ourselves more, and posterity
Even more.*

J. C. CREWS

AWAKING

*The thirst has revived in the beasts who drank
The blood of our youth by the Meuse and Marne.
In the church and senate, the school and bank
The statesmen again are weaving their yarn
For a while they thought as they looked with dread
At the gathering hoards, the penniless.
But their henchmen rose with the cry of "Red"
And scattered bright lies with their monied press.*

*And now they presume that the hour has come,
For the sake of "defense" and lucre need,
To butcher the young of the farm and slum
And profit their blood as they freshly bleed.
The masters are hungry, their maws are gaunt
And their claws are grasping from coast to coast,
But time forebodes that they starve in their want,
For youth is resolved to act as the host.*

JACK GREENBERG

COUNT MY SHEEP

*I am tired tonight, my dear.
My legs ache, and I cannot go to sleep.
Open the windows and let the sooty air come in.
The fire from the mills is like a sunset
And the breeze rustling the curtains like a dream in this
night.*

*They tell me I should love my work.
They want to put me in my place and keep me there,
To make me like themselves so I can't laugh at them
Or any longer love a stretching road unbounded by—
Signboards.*

*A blast of laughter might dynamite their black-and-white world asunder
And, ashes to ashes and dust to dust,
Send its splintering rocks sky-flying to the heavens and
back again on somebody's head.*

They tell me I should love my work.

*Work for work's sake,
Art for art's sake,
Life for life, tooth for tooth, eye for eye!
I say, Work is a mule blinded in a mine.
And I say, Play is a Pegasus galloping to Land's End
with open eye and flying colors.
And I say, When I work I enjoy myself but only myself.
I can enjoy others, and I like Tom and Dick and Harry.
I play to enjoy others in this funny world,
It's funny people, funny things, funny ideas like flannel
bunnies gone to bed with a child.*

*And I say, Workers are wits,
Tillyloss Scandalmongers.*

*Who is black? who white?
The black are the few
Too good to be true
Who are liable, hence, to digressions.
And the white are the many
Digressing not any
Who make the black write True Confessions.*

*Yes, workers are wits, and they stick pins in children,
and pull their hair,
Put men in iron maidens and close them up like Egyptian
mummies so their spikes go through the tender skin
and sometimes even crack the bones.*

*But players are humorists,
Wandering Willies,
Johnny-come-home-again to see how small the postoffice
and the bank and backyard are beside his memory
of them and his strivings beyond them.*

*Persons with perspectives, persons with pasts,
Spotted,
And they love and laugh and lie with Eternity: Achilles,
Aeneas, Beowulf, Black Elk, Charlemagne, Cleopatra, Deirdre, Eleonore Murray, Guinevere, Hector,
Helen, Jane Shore, King Cole, Launcelot, Lenin,
Lincoln, Becky Sharp, Tristan, Ulysses,
And they are talked about by gossips scandalously,
And they wrap one up in a cloak of laughter, clad one
in armor till one is a philosopher.*

*Open the window, love, and let the sooty air
come in.
Open the door, and maybe I shall sing.
Don't be so loutish—you have years to sleep in!
I cannot close my eyes tonight.
Where are my sheep? to count.*

ARTHUR E. DUBoIS

THE BELIEF IN "MIRACLES"

I

Nearly every pacifist who is opposed to violent means in all circumstances, in a word, the "absolute" pacifist is recruited from among the Tolstoian, Gandhist, and some Christian sects, and especially from among the Quakers. Each and every one of these pacifists asserts that his spiritual aims will always triumph over material forces. They claim that moral forces will some day obliterate the evils of our régime. Thus imbued with spiritual teachings they are convinced that all fights will only be won through the efforts of superior knowledge.

Elosu, my opponent in a debate on this question said: "A true renovation is not a series of rumbling and incoherent riots, but a quiet and methodic appropriation of the means of production and distribution by and for Labor."

Now, in a debate dealing with ideas, the form of expression to be adopted must be clear, exact, and especially free from thought-bubbles. Elosu could have given more strength to his thoughts by emphasizing the contrast he intended to establish between (a series of rumbling and incoherent riots) and his (quiet appropriation by and for Labor). Such contrast should have been brutal, impressive, surprising and total. Elosu did not do it.

Yet, Elosu is right in saying that riots without order and aim could never bring about a true renovation; but where he is wrong is when he imagines that the appropriation by and for Labor could be quiet and methodic.

Here I shall ask on what grounds does Elosu qualify the Social Revolution as a series of rumbling and incoherent riots; and upon what pedestal does he base his hypothesis of a quiet and methodic appropriation?

Surely we could not conceive the Social Revolution otherwise than the termination of a more or less lengthy period of education, organization, inside agitation and outside effervescence; a period of penetration and training towards mass action. In all probability it will be preceded by numerous clashes provoked by circumstances and inspired by conscious attitude. And finally these events will lead to a supreme and decisive battle, called a series of riots by Elosu. Far from being rumbling and incoherent, the clash will totalize and coordinate all the needed forces of renovation for the appropriation by and for Labor of all the means of production and distribution. This same stroke will abolish slaughterous institutions and render powerless the authority upholding them.

Perhaps the source of Elosu's hope lies in his generous heart. However I doubt his candor. Does he believe that the landholders and the owners of the means of production will willingly strip themselves or let themselves be stripped without opposing this appropriation with all the exterminating forces at their command? Does he think that acknowledging the fairness of the workers' formal requests will influence the government parasites to lend them the aid of the militia and then give up their legislative seats to the workers?

Elosu is not and cannot be that simple. HE DOES NOT BELIEVE IN "MIRACLES!"

And here I say that there can only be one of the two alternatives: Either to wait for the miraculous methodic appropriation of the means of production and distribution by and for Labor, or to resort to the Social Revolution.

Again, Elosu said: "The fight for freedom and liberation does not take place in the street but between the erroneous, bloody, and dark conceptions of the past and the sweet, sincere, and radiant hopes of today."

Indeed, the fight is not to take place in the street but in the conscience! That is a marvelous, seductive and even somewhat truthful contrast; for it is perfectly correct that the fight for freedom and liberation is between Falsehood and Truth, Barbarism and Gentleness, and Darkness and Light. Any movement which removes man from ignorance, ferocity, and destitution and brings him closer to the wonderful destinies of knowledge, solidarity and well-being, is unquestionably progressive and apt to bring about his complete freedom and liberation.

Thus our efforts as libertarians are concentrated in educational work that will build peaceful and enlightened consciences. But knowing, as does Elosu, that the fight for freedom and liberation lies in the conscience I totally disagree with him when he adds, "Not in the street," and I say instead—and in the street.

And why? Suppose that the conscience has been developed; it loathes the slaughterous conceptions of the past; it craves for well-being, sincerity, and light. What then? Are they not going to do anything else? Are they not duty-bound to help their fellow men through education and example in order to materialize their sweet hopes into fertile realities? And how can this be done without a violent shock? The forces of the past have an organized and violent system for their defense.

Now, does Elosu think that written wishes, petitions, and protestations against Falsehood, War, and Ignorance, without any other means, will ever gain a victory

over the bloody and dark powers? No doubt, such written documents have their moral value, but they always have and always will fail.

Elosu continued: "The Revolution is not an idea that seeks bayonets, but one that destroys bayonets." The picture is nice, however, error can sometimes so trim itself that it can be as beautiful as the truth. The Revolution is an idea which has found bayonets to break bayonets. What the Revolution will break will be the two opponents of freedom: the capitalist régime that engenders exploitation and the State which fatally creates oppression.

Since Elosu is an Anarchist I am sure we will agree

upon this one point. That these are the bayonets that will be broken by the Revolution: violence, constraint, and the whole system of repression and slaughter which the armed accomplices of capitalism and the State maintain.

Does Elosu hope to put down the walls of this new Jericho, the State, by carrying in great ceremony the ark of alliance preceded by seven priests blowing trumpets and followed by the silent and praying masses? No, it is impossible that Elosu could be so naive. "Miracles" will not take place again. We have to find bayonets to break bayonets.

(Translated by JULES SCARCERIAUX)

FRUITS OF REACTION

Regular military lessons are now being given young girls throughout Turkey, as part of the national defense program, under the auspices of the Ministry of Education. Instruction is to take place through the lyceums, schools of higher education, and in the university, commencing with the seventh grade of the middle school. The same program is to be followed by all private schools, industrial or professional, of similar grade.

More than 110,000 Jews have left Germany since Hitler's rise to power. The "emigration tax" (Fluchtsteuer) of those refugees has already netted the Nazis 153 million Marks. Of late there is a movement initiated by the Army to prohibit the emigration of Jewish technicians and doctors. These have military importance.

Meanwhile, German workers are forbidden to seek out Jewish physicians on pain of losing their sick benefits; the "Stürmer" continues to list Aryans who trade in Jewish shops; Jews are no longer admitted to the doctor's degree at the universities; Aryan parentage back to 1800 is required for the sale of newspapers and journals. Recently the Hanseatische Obergericht even granted a divorce to a man on the grounds that his wife had bought a coat in a Jewish shop.

About the middle of July four young men in Osaka were called for service in China and with their insignia on, drowned themselves in a canal, leaving a note behind expressing their complete refusal to fight. The army officer having local jurisdiction, ordered that the bodies be left untouched where they had been fished from the water with their statement beside them. Thus their testimony was witnessed by thousands. About the same time another young man, quite unconnected with these four, told his friends he would go with his unit of freshly called up men, but he would not fight and that they would soon receive a telegram reporting that he had been shot. He said he hoped to influence his comrades during the interval. Within two weeks the telegram was received.

The Admiralty representative referred to his intimate association with the directors and officials of Vickers-Armstrong and expressed his gratitude to the firm for what it had done and for what it would do. It is probably not an exaggeration to say that such success as we have achieved up to date in our armament program has been due to a very large degree to Vickers-Armstrong. Probably it is not giving away a secret to say the basis of all our designs depends on Vickers-Armstrong's work."

At the Pan-Scandinavian Advertising Congress recently held in Stockholm, the Finnish delegate, L. W. Latvala, shocked his audience by inadvertently revealing that Finnish advertising men are being systematically trained in the art of war propaganda. He declared that the experiences of the Finnish civil war had prompted the General Staff to force advertising to keep abreast of the latest developments in the fine art of mass suggestion, a field in which much is to be learned from Germany. The Finnish delegate's blundering talk aroused a storm of newspaper comment.

Filipinos are reflecting seriously on the meaning of political independence. The U.S. beet sugar interests and the bankers who control the sugar market are the agents who are putting wooden rifles into the hands of ten-year old school boys, encouraging "Field Marshal" MacArthur in his spending of nearly \$100,000 on his staff, and building up a false sense of security based on armaments in the minds of millions of Filipinos.

Moreover, President Quezon has just brought back \$50,000 from Washington, the result of the tax on cocoanut oil collected by the U.S. government. Chances are that much of this will go to the military machine. Money now being spent in the Philippines on the militarization program would be really useful if devoted to providing educational facilities for the 65 per cent of children of school age not now in public schools.

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FINANCIAL STATEMENT

(December 10 to January 10)

INCOME:	Receipt Numbers 169, \$31.35; 172, \$30.00; 155, \$20.00; 152, \$10.00; 150, \$2.50; 158, \$2.26; Two Dollars, Receipt Nos. 151, 155, 162, 167, 168; 154, \$1.50; One Dollar Nos. 156, 159, 160, 161, 163, 164; Fifty Cents, Nos. 157, 165, 166; 170, \$3.09; 171, \$0.76—Total \$118.96.
TOTAL INCOME	\$118.96
EXPENDITURES	116.49
Deficit from last issue	31.72
TOTAL EXPENDITURES	\$118.96
Cash on Hand	\$118.96
DEFICIT	\$29.25

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